

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-10 L-03 ACDA-12
NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 SP-02 ICA-11 TRSE-00 SIG-03
IO-13 OIC-02 DODE-00 H-01 EB-08 /099 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/CE:GACHESTER/JWHITLOCK:DHT
APPROVED BY EUR:GVEST
EUR/CE:JEGOODBY
EUR/CE:WWOESSNER
EUR/RPM:JKORNBLUM
S/S:FWISNER
-

-----044122 020410Z /17

P R 020156Z JUN 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 139661

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PGOV, BQG, NATO, EEC

SUBJECT: NATO MINISTERIAL: SENIOR LEVEL MEETING AND
QUADRIpartite MINISTERIAL DINNER ON BERLIN AND GERMANY
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REF: A) BONN 9560; B) BONN 9464; C) BONN 9252; D) BONN
9175; E) BONN 9193; F) STATE 131524

1. THE FOUR POLITICAL DIRECTORS WITH ADVISERS
PRESENT MET DURING THE MORNING AND EARLY AFTERNOON
OF MAY 28 TO DISCUSS MATTERS RELATED TO BERLIN
AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE. TOPICS DISCUSSED ARE SET
FORTH BELOW.

2. NATO COMMUNIQUE: THE DIRECTORS AGREED WITHOUT

DISCUSSION TO RECOMMEND THE DRAFT TEXT ON BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE (REF A) TO MINISTERS FOR APPROVAL FOR INCLUSION IN THE NATO COMMUNIQUE.

3. ASSESSMENT: THE DIRECTORS AGREED THAT, WHILE THE BERLIN SITUATION AS A WHOLE HAS REMAINED UNCHANGED OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS, THERE HAS BEEN RELATIVE CALM AND NO MAJOR DISTURBANCE IN AND AROUND THE CITY. THE CONSENSUS WAS THAT, AS FAR AS THE MAIN FIELDS OF DIRECT ALLIED RESPONSIBILITIES ARE CONCERNED, TENSIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION OVER BERLIN, THOUGH NEVER ENTIRELY ABSENT, ARE PROBABLY AT AS LOW A POINT AS THEY HAVE BEEN FOR SEVERAL YEARS. THE DIRECTORS CONSIDERED IT OF INTEREST THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT MADE THEIR PROTESTS ON BERLIN MATTERS TO THE THREE ALLIES IN CAPITALS OR IN MOSCOW SINCE OCTOBER 1977. NONETHELESS, THEY NOTED THAT DIFFICULTIES CONTINUE IN THE AREA OF TIES BETWEEN THE FRG AND BERLIN AS WELL AS IN THE AREA OF THE REPRESENTATION ABROAD OF BERLIN'S INTERESTS. THE DIRECTORS APPROVED THE TEXT OF THE ASSESSMENT (REF C AS AMENDED BY REF B) WITH THE FOLLOWING CHANGES:

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A. PARA (1): REMOVE FRG BRACKETS AND INSERT "AS FAR AS THE MAIN FIELDS OF DIRECT ALLIED RESPONSIBILITIES ARE CONCERNED," AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND SENTENCE.

B. PARA (15)(B): SEE PARAGRAPH 5(B), INFRA.

4. BERLIN IN THE CONTEXT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS: BLECH (FRG) REPORTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO PROGRESS ON CONCRETE BERLIN ISSUES DURING THE BREZHNEV VISIT TO THE FRG BUT THAT THE SOVIETS HAD DISCUSSED BERLIN IN A NON-POLEMICAL FASHION. ALTHOUGH THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE IN THE BASIC POSITIONS ON EITHER SIDE, THE SOVIETS HAD SOUGHT TO AVOID FRICTION AND HE BELIEVED SOME SUCCESS HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN REDUCING SOVIET SUSPICIONS. THE DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING BERLIN HAD BEEN ALMOST ENTIRELY OF A CONCEPTUAL NATURE AND HAD NOT DEALT WITH OPERATIONAL MATTERS.

BLECH THOUGHT IT POSITIVE THAT THE SOVIETS HAD ACCEPTED THE PETERSBERG FORMULA IN FULL FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1973 (I.E., "BOTH SIDES CONFIRM THE VIEW THAT STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT OF 3 SEPTEMBER 1971 CONTINUE TO BE AN ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITE FOR LASTING DETENTE IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATES CONCERNED, NOTABLY BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND THE SOVIET UNION.").

THE SOVIETS HAD GIVEN NO SIGN THAT THEY WERE INTERESTED IN REQUESTING FOUR POWER CONSULTATIONS UNDER THE FINAL QUADRIpartite PROTOCOL AND BLECH'S VIEW WAS THAT THE SOVIETS MAY BE RECEPTIVE TO A PERIOD OF RELATIVE CALM CONCERNING BERLIN. HE CONCLUDED THAT THE MAJOR QUESTIONS REMAIN OPEN AND THAT NO BREAKTHROUGH ON BERLIN OCCURRED.

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5. BERLIN'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY:

A. DIRECT ELECTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY: THE CONSENSUS WAS THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO AVOID A SITUATION WHERE THE CAREFULLY CONSTRUCTED DISTINCTION BETWEEN INDIRECTLY-CHOSEN BERLIN MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY AND DIRECTLY-ELECTED MEMBERS FROM THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY (AND ALL OTHER EC COUNTRIES) WAS ERODED OR BLURRED.

ANDREANI (FRANCE) AND HIBBERT (UK) POINTED OUT THAT THAT THIS COULD HAPPEN SINCE THE BERLIN LOCAL ELECTIONS ARE NEXT MARCH AND CANDIDATES FOR THE BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES MAY ALSO PORTRAY THEMSELVES AS CANDIDATES FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY. BLECH OBSERVED THAT THIS DANGER IS MINIMAL IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT ONLY THREE BERLIN REPRESENTATIVES AND THREE ALTERNATES TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY WILL BE SELECTED, WHILE A MUCH LARGER NUMBER OF CANDIDATES WILL STAND FOR THE BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. IN ADDITION, LOCAL ISSUES ARE MUCH MORE IMPORTANT IN BERLIN.

B. INCLUSION OF BERLIN IN EC AGREEMENTS WITH CEMA COUNTRIES: IN DISCUSSION OF PARAGRAPH 15(B) OF THE ASSESSMENT, BLECH MADE CLEAR THE GERMAN VIEW THAT BERLIN IS AUTOMATICALLY INCLUDED IN ALL AGREEMENTS SIGNED BY THE EC, PROVIDED ALLIED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES ARE NOT AFFECTED. ANDREANI DISAGREED, NOTING THIS WOULD GIVE THE EC GREATER RIGHTS OF FOREIGN REPRESENTATION THAN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY HAS. HIBBERT NOTED THAT BERLIN AND THE EC

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IS THE SUBJECT OF A STUDY TO BE PREPARED BY THE BONN GROUP AND THAT FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS SUCH AS THIS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN THE PREPARATION OF THAT PAPER. HE SUGGESTED A REDRAFT OF THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 15(B), IN FRENCH BRACKETS THAT WOULD AVOID THE

FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE. THIS WAS ACCEPTED.

IN A DISCUSSION OF THE SENTENCE IN PARAGRAPH 15(B) IN FRG BRACKETS, BLECH SAID THAT, FOR THE GERMAN SIDE, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO SIGN EC AGREEMENTS WITH CEMA OR ITS MEMBER STATES IF THE INCLUSION OF BERLIN IS TO BE EXCLUDED OR LIMITED. HIBBERT SAID THAT FOR THE UK THERE ARE VERY REAL MATERIAL INTERESTS IN SUCH AGREEMENTS AND THAT A WAY MUST BE FOUND TO SIGN SUCH AGREEMENTS, WHILE INCLUDING BERLIN. ANDREANI AGREED, SAYING THAT BOTH BERLIN AND THE MATERIAL INTEREST MUST BE CONSIDERED. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE METHOD OF INCLUDING BERLIN CAN BE FLEXIBLE. IN VIEW OF THIS CONSENSUS, IT WAS AGREED TO DROP THE SENTENCE IN FRG BRACKETS.

AS REDRAFTED, PARAGRAPH 15(B) OF THE ASSESSMENT READS AS FOLLOWS: "BERLIN IS PART OF THE AREA IN WHICH THE TREATIES SETTING UP THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES ARE APPLIED SUBJECT TO ALLIED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, AND ALL AGREEMENTS OF THE COMMUNITIES WITH THIRD COUNTRIES ARE ALSO APPLIED TO BERLIN, SUBJECT ALWAYS TO ALLIED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. PROBLEMS HAVE ARISEN IN RECENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE EEC AND THE SOVIET UNION, THE GDR, POLAND AND HUNGARY, BECAUSE OF THE EASTERN COUNTRIES' RELUCTANCE TO ACCEPT THAT THE COMMUNITIES' AGREEMENTS APPLY TO BERLIN. IT IS OF DIRECT MATERIAL INTEREST TO MEMBER STATES OF THE EEC THAT THE COMMUNITY SHOULD NEGOTIATE AGREEMENTS WITH THE CEMA AND EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES ON THE SUBJECTS FOR WHICH IT IS COMPETENT. AS THESE SUBJECTS AND AGREEMENTS RELATING TO THEM ARE OF CONFIDENTIAL

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INHERENT IMPORTANCE TO THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ALSO, THEY SEEM TO OFFER THE MOST FAVORABLE OPPORTUNITY WHICH WILL OCCUR TO OBTAIN SOVIET ACCEPTANCE THAT THE TREATY OF ROME APPLIES TO BERLIN. FLEXIBILITY AND INGENUITY WILL BE NEEDED BY ALL CONCERNED."

C. BERLIN/EC STUDY (REF D AS AMENDED BY REF B): IT WAS NOTED THAT THE FRENCH AND GERMAN SIDES HAVE CONTRIBUTED PAPERS TO FORM THE BASIS OF THE BONN GROUP STUDY AND HIBBERT PROMISED A UK COMMENTARY. VEST NOTED THAT THE SUBJECT IS AN IMPORTANT ONE AND THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES AMONG THE THREE EC MEMBERS. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE BONN GROUP SHOULD SEEK TO PREPARE AN AGREED STUDY BY THE NEXT NATO MINISTERIAL. ANDREANI NOTED THE POTENTIAL DIFFICULTIES IN ACCOMPLISHING THIS TASK WERE SUCH THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO ULTIMATUM TO DO SO.

6. BUNDESRAT PRESIDENCY ISSUE: VEST NOTED THAT IT

WAS AGREED THAT BERLIN GOVERNING MAYOR STOBBE'S ELECTION AS PRESIDENT OF THE BUNDESRAT WILL TAKE PLACE AS SCHEDULED BUT THAT ALL AGREE THAT RESTRAINT AND PRUDENCE ARE NECESSARY IN THE WAY HE FULFILLS THE FUNCTIONS OF THAT OFFICE. HIBBERT EMPHASIZED THE NEED, INSOFAR AS POSSIBLE, FOR A CLEAR DISTINCTION IN TIME AND PLACE BETWEEN HIS ROLE AS GOVERNING MAYOR AND THAT OF BUNDESRAT PRESIDENT. BLECH AGREED WITH THIS FORMULA AND SAID THAT STOBBE'S REPUTATION FOR DISCRETION GAVE PROMISE THAT THE MATTER WOULD NOT CAUSE UNDUE DIFFICULTIES WITH THE SOVIETS.

7. THE VIABILITY OF BERLIN: THE FOLLOW-UP REPORT ON BERLIN'S VIABILITY WAS NOTED (REF E AS AMENDED)
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BY REF F). BLECH WELCOMED THE ATTENTION GIVEN TO THIS AREA BY THE THREE POWERS AND THEIR WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE THEIR SUPPORT FOR BERLIN'S VIABILITY. HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE GOVERNING MAYOR IS CONCENTRATING ON THIS PROBLEM.

8. STATUS AND PROSPECTS FOR INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS: BLECH SAID IT WAS CLEAR, IN FRG DISCUSSIONS WITH BREZHNEV AND GROMYKO, THAT THIS SUBJECT IS IMPORTANT TO THE SOVIETS. MOSCOW HAS SOME CONCERNS ABOUT INNER-GERMAN CONTACTS INTER ALIA BECAUSE THE GDR MAY BE RECEIVING THE PRIMARY ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF DETENTE OR BECAUSE SUCH CONTACTS COULD ADVANCE A COMMON GERMAN INTEREST TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE SOVIET UNION APPEARS TO HOLD THE VIEW THAT THE DIVISION OF GERMANY IS "FRAGILE" AND "UNNATURAL," AS DOES THE FRG, AND THIS MAKES THE SOVIETS UNEASY. BLECH SAID THAT BONN IS FACING A SITUATION WHERE THE GDR AND THE USSR EACH POSE OBSTACLES TO THE CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF THE OTHER'S BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, EXCEPT IN THOSE AREAS WHERE ONE OR THE OTHER PERCEIVES THAT SUCH DEVELOPMENT IS IN THAT COUNTRY'S NATIONAL INTEREST, E.G., WHERE THE GDR WANTS THE USSR TO PLAY A "PACEMAKER" ROLE WITH BONN.

AMONG THE SPECIFIC ISSUES BLECH MENTIONED WERE THE PROPOSED BERLIN/HAMBURG AUTOBAHN, THE ELBE RIVER DEMARCATION LINE, THE NATIONALITY QUESTION, HUMANITARIAN ISSUES AND THE PROSPECTS FOR A MEETING BETWEEN CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND HONECKER. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE FRG DOES NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE ITS VIEW OF GERMAN NATIONALITY ON THE GDR BUT INSISTS THAT CITIZENS OF THE GDR HAVE THE RIGHT TO ELECT FRG PROTECTION WHEN OVERSEAS. ON HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS, HE DOES NOT EXPECT THE GDR TO MAKE MORE THAN "TINY" STEPS.

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9. ALLIED RELATIONS WITH THE GDR: HIBBERT SAID UK RELATIONS WITH THE GDR ARE PERFECTLY NORMAL BUT THAT THE GDR HAS MADE IT CLEAR THESE RELATIONS CAN DEVELOP ONLY IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH THE BROADER FRAMEWORK OF DETENTE. ANDREANI SAID THERE IS NOTHING OF PARTICULAR NOTE ON THE FRENCH SIDE, OBSERVING THAT THERE IS NO PROGRESS ON THE CONSULAR CONVENTION.

WOESSNER, IN VEST'S ABSENCE, REPORTED ON THE COINCIDENCE OF SEVERAL HIGH-RANKING GDR VISITS TO THE US AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME, INCLUDING A CALL BY FOREIGN MINISTER FISCHER ON SECRETARY VANCE. HE SAID THE US WILL ATTEMPT TO KEEP THESE AS NON-POLITICAL AS POSSIBLE. THE US WAS SKEPTICAL REGARDING PROGRESS IN THE NATIONALITY ISSUE ON WHICH THE US WILL STAND FIRM, AND THIS WILL CONTINUE TO BE AN IMPEDIMENT TO US/GDR RELATIONS FOR A LONG TIME TO COME.

BLECH EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR FIRMNESS ON THE NATIONALITY QUESTION AND TERMED FISCHER'S VISIT A NATURAL OCCURRENCE BETWEEN STATES MAINTAINING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

10. VEST SUMMARIZED THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS AND REPORTED THEIR CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE FOUR FOREIGN MINISTERS AT THE QUAD DINNER THE SAME EVENING. THE MINISTERS APPROVED THE NATO COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE ON BERLIN AND GERMANY AND TOOK NOTE OF THE ASSESSMENT, FOLLOW-UP TO THE VIABILITY STUDY AND THE PROGRESS REPORT ON CONFIDENTIAL

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BERLIN AND THE EC.

GENSCHER COMMENTED ON THE BREZHNEV VISIT TO BONN TO THE EFFECT THAT THE SOVIETS APPEARED TO WANT TO CREATE A MORE FAVORABLE CLIMATE ON BERLIN. GROMYKO HAD NOT CLAIMED THAT THE FRG WAS VIOLATING THE QA AND GENSCHER HAD ASSURED HIM THAT THE FRG WOULD WORK WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE AGREEMENT. GENSCHER THOUGHT IT A POSITIVE SIGN THAT, CONTRARY TO GDR WISHES, BREZHNEV DID NOT VISIT EAST BERLIN ON THE WAY HOME BUT SENT GROMYKO INSTEAD. GENSCHER MENTIONED THAT BEFORE THE VISIT HE HAD MENTIONED THE INTERFERENCE BY A SOVIET PATROL WITH THE SCHEEL MOTORCADE IN BERLIN TO FALIN (SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN BONN), WHO HAD ASSURED HIM THAT

THE INCIDENT HAD NOT BEEN APPROVED OR ORDERED "FROM ABOVE." GENSCHER COMMENTED THAT HE THOUGHT THAT THE ALLIES HAD BEEN WELL ADVISED TO REACT CALMLY TO THE INCREASE IN SOVIET PATROLS IN THE WESTERN SECTORS SINCE THIS DEPRIVED ABRASIMOV (SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN EAST BERLIN) OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE A CASE FOR RECIPROCAL ELIMINATION OF ALLIED AND SOVIET PATROLS.

IN THE DISCUSSION ON BERLIN AND THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT (EP), GENSCHER EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD STRESS TO THE SOVIETS AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY THAT BERLIN'S REPRESENTATIVES TO THE EP WOULD BE ELECTED BY THE BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, A CHANGE HE CONSIDERED EVEN MORE IN LINE WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE QA THAN THE PREVIOUS PRACTICE OF ELECTION BY THE FRG BUNDESTAG. HE CONSIDERED THIS A STEP THE WEST HAD NOT BEEN OBLIGED TO TAKE AND AN EXPRESSION OF OUR GOOD WILL. ON THE SUBJECT OF ALLIED RELATIONS WITH THE GDR, GENSCHER OBSERVED THAT THE LETTER ON GERMAN UNITY HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN THE TREATY OF MOSCOW, A COPY OF WHICH THE FRG HAD GIVEN THE GDR. THUS THE GDR WAS WELL AWARE THAT THE RESTORATION OF GERMAN UNITY

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REMAINS THE OBJECTIVE OF FRG POLICY, A FACT WHICH THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER THOUGHT IMPORTANT IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROPOSED ALLIED CONSULAR CONVENTIONS WITH THE GDR. GENSCHER EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE WATCHDOG ROLE ON THE QA WHICH THE GDR HAS ATTEMPTED TO PLAY IN THE RECENT PAST WHILE VIOLATING THE QA WITH MILITARY PARADES IN EAST BERLIN. HE SAID THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD, IN BILATERAL CONTACTS, DRAW THE ATTENTION OF THE GDR TO THIS VIOLATION OF THE DEMILITARIZED STATUS OF EAST BERLIN. VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MINISTERIAL MEETINGS, MEETINGS, BERLIN QUADRIpartite MATTERS, STATUS OF BERLIN
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE139661
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/CE:GACHESTER/JWHITLOCK:DHT
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 XGDS-1
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780230-0579
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197806115/baaaeyuh.tel
Line Count: 364
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: dd2b4f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A) BONN 9560; B) BONN 9464; C) BONN 9252; D) BONN 9175; E) BONN 9193; F) STATE 131524
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2176371
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NATO MINISTERIAL: SENIOR LEVEL MEETING AND QUADRIpartite MINISTERIAL DINNER ON BERLIN AND GERMANY
TAGS: PGOV, BQG, NATO, EEC
To: BONN INFO USBERLIN MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/dd2b4f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014